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ABSTRACT

The job mobility and job career of rural women of three generations (16-29, 30-54, and 55 and older) were compared to those of rural men. Data were derived from questionnaires given to the rural people of the Novosibirsk province during surveys conducted in 1967 and 1972. Two data arrays were used--605 questionnaires mechanically selected from the 1967 sample and 2,300 questionnaires of workers interviewed in 1972. Two types of mobility were discerned: horizontal and vertical. Jobs were classified into eight groups according to the nature of work (manual-nonmanual, supervising-non-supervising), required education (comprehensive and special), and wages: labourers, farm labourers, junior attendants; animal breeders--pig tenders, cowherds, cow keepers; animal breeders--milkmaids, calfwomen, poultry women; workers in services sphere and clerical workers; equipment, tractor and combine operators, truck drivers, plumbers; specialists of middle-level skills and middle-level managers; agriculturalists; and key specialists and top managers. Degree of mobility was measured by the number of jobs held during their work history. Findings included: women were less mobile; younger workers were considerably more mobile than the aged; among all groups vertical mobility prevailed over horizontal; the percentage of upward mobility was twice as high as downward mobility; the number of women with upward job careers was half that of men; and the job career of women was on the average shorter than that of men. (NQ)

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COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTIC OF JOB MOBILITY AND JOB CAREER OF DIFFERENT DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS IN RURAL POPULATION

Seminar 14: The changing roles of women in rural societies.

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COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISIC OF JOB MOBILITY AND JOB CAREER OF DIFFERENT DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS IN RURAL POPULATION (SRAVNITELNAYA KHARAKTERISTIKA TRUDOVOI MOBILNOSTI I TRUDOVOI KARYERY RAZNYKH DEMOGRAPICHESKIKH GRUPP SELSKOGO NASELENIA)

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Abstract

The present paper gives an analysis of job mobility and job career of rural women of different generations comparing to rural men. The study was based on the data from questionnaire surveys conducted in 1967 and 1972 at the Sector of Urban and Rural Social Problems, Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. It has been ascertained that mobility differences for men and women are essential; on the whole, women are less mobile than men;workers in young ages are considerably more mobile than the aged; among all population groups vertical mobility prevails over horizontal: percentage upward mobile was twice as high as downward mobile. The number of women with upward job careers was half that of men. Job career of women was on the average shorter than that of men.

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1. Problem and Objectives

One of the most important socioeconomic problems being solved during the years of socialist construction is the release of women from their long standing inequality. Already the first decrees of the Soviet power secured for women political, property and parents' rights, freedom in occupational choice, right for education, work and rest. Later on, gigantic efforts were made to achieve over the

shortest historical period the maximum possibility to exercise these right in reality, i.e. to achieve virtual equality. As a result, by educational attainments, participation in occupational and public activity women are not lagging behind men, and virtually in many cases have left them behind. According to the 1897 census, women were employed as household servants (57.5%), labourers (25%), in manufacturing (13%), in education and health services (4%) (Vostrikova et al., eds., 1969:9). At present women make 51% of total employed in public production: in manufacturing 48%, in trade and public catering 76%, in health 85%, in art 45% , in education and culture 73%, in science 48%, in governmental and economic management bodies, in cooperative and public organizations 62% (Alimov et al., eds., 1972:248). Women make 59% of senior and junior colleges graduates employed in the Soviet national economy.

At the same time, women's involvement into public production engenders new, even more complicated problems of occupational and nonoccupational nature. On the one hand, these are problems of rational utilization of female labour; on the other, coordination by women of their occupational activity with roles of mothers, wives, with their cultural development. The specifics of female social functions are such that the nature of their occupational activity much determines demographic processes (birth of children, their health), problems of marriages, family stability, morals and culture of children and adolescents. It is universally recognized that the life style of married women much influences the whole tenor of family life: household activity, forms of social activity.

An important aspect of these problems is job mobility of employed women which is a peculiar dynamic "cross-section" of their work life. The concern of the paper is to characterize job mobility and job career of rural women

of three generations (16-29, 30-54 and 55 and older) against those of rural men.[1]

2. Types and Directions of Female Mobility: Ratios of Stability to Mobility, Vertical to Horizontal, Upward to Downward Movements

Different kinds of movements (migration, labour turnover, movements among industries) independently of their socio-economic meaning have a common attribute, i.e. direction. According to it, two types of mobility are discerned: 1) horizontal, i.e. worker's movement among jobs at the same hierarchical level and 2) vertical, i.e. movements among jobs belonging to different levels of this hierarchy. The existence of these two movements implies a twofold (horizontal and vertical) arrangement of the space in which these movements take place, and this space is just a system of jobs. The space is described through job attributes: 1) nature of work (manual - nonmanual, supervising - non-supervising), 2) the required educational attainments (comprehensive and special), 3) wages. The arrangement of jobs according to these attributes is based on the relationship "higher - lower - equal" which constitutes their vertical-horizontal gradation. This paper makes use of job classification according to these attributes obtained by taxonomy method (Zagoruiko and Zaslavskaia, eds., 1968: 65). In this way 9 groups of jobs were identified which we reduced to the following eight groups:

I - labourers, farm labourers, junior attendants;

1 The study was based on the data derived from the replies of the rural people of the Novosibirsk province to questionnaire items obtained in surveys made in 1967 and 1972 at the Institute of Economics & Industrial Engineering of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Two data arrays were used: 1) 605 questionnaires mechanically selected from the major sample (10585 questionnaires of 1967 and 2) 2300 questionnaires of workers interviewed in 1972. For the study a body of manual and nonmanual workers of state farms and other state enterprises accounting for 80% of the employed in the Novosibirsk province were selected.

II - animal breeders: pig-tenders, cowherds, cow keepers;

III - animal breeders: milkmaids, calfwomen, poultry women;

IV - workers in services sphere and clerical workers;

V - equipment, tractor and combine operators, truck drivers, plumbers;

VI - specialists of middle-level skills and middle-level managers;

VII - agriculturalists;

VIII - key specialists and top managers.

According to this, it is easy to ascertain to what kind of job mobility, vertical or horizontal, every life history belongs. For this purpose we compared an individual's status at the beginning ("point of departure") with his job at interview date ("final point")[1]. To illustrate, work histories such as labourer - ordinary equipment operator - brigadier of a tractor brigade (I-V-VI) or cowherd - labourer - truck driver (II-I-V) are vertical mobility, and such as labourer - charwoman - dry-nurse (I-I-I) horizontal.

Vertical mobility is movement upward or downward and here two types are discerned: "upward" and "downward". According to this, a work history in which the point of departure in job hierarchy is higher than final we subsume under downward mobility, and conversely if the final point is in this hierarchy higher than initial, to the upward. A work history with only one point we rate as stable (Zaslavskaia and Ryvkina, eds., 1974:240).

The ratio of mobile to stable rural workers tested in 1967 as well as their distributions by mobility types is presented in Table 1.

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1 Mobility can be classified taking into consideration all inner points of work history. Then it would be different. It would be possible to discern "pure ascendance" (each subsequent point is higher than previous) or "pure" descendance, pure horizontal movement; the remaining types can be held as mixed and to proceed with classification. Such a classification would give a picture of the very process of workers' mobility while the one used by us describes only the result of this process.

Table 1

Mobile to stable rural workers ratio in 1967

Age and sex groups	Mobile workers			Stable workers
	vertically mobile		horizontally mobile	
	upward	downward		
Men				
under 29	26	11	5	50
30-59	46	14	9	31
60 and older	22	23	14	41
Total	38	14	9	39
Women				
under 29	11	13	12	64
30-54	31	22	13	32
55 and older	17	8	9	66
Total	24	16	12	48
Total rural population	30	15	11	44

The share of stable workers is rather large (about half) which is explained by the established structure of public production in the rural sector. Among the mobile part of the employed population vertical mobility prevails over horizontal: horizontal to vertical mobility ratio is 1 : 4.5. Apart from this, a third of work histories are upward movements.

The differences in movement for men and women are essential. Women are, first, more stable and, second, upward mobility is less typical of them. The share of stable women is 1.3 times as high as of men, and the share of "upward mobile" is three fifths. This pattern persists in the analysis of age groups.

To find out the percentage of movements which can be rated as "getting ahead" an index of work status was used calculated as average weighted value.

$$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{8} \tau_i \rho_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{8} \rho_i}$$

where

τ_i - is a rank, the level of the job in job hierarchy ($i = 1, 2, \ldots, 8$);

ρ_i - the number of people occupying jobs in the i-th rank.[1] Despite the evident relativity of using these ranks as scores the confrontation of the index describing the beginning of a work history and that describing its end makes it possible, to a certain degree, to judge about the dynamics of the working status of the group examined. Increased index of work status can be treated as workers' getting ahead (see Table 2).

Table 2

Changes in the working status of rural dwellers during their work history (in scores)

Age groups	Men			Women		
	points in work history		advancement	points in work history		advancement
	initial	final		initial	final	
16-29 years of age	3.2	3.8	+0.6	3.0	3.0	-
30-54 (59)	2.5	3.5	+1.0	2.2	2.2	-
55(60) and older	2.7	2.6	-0.1	1.3	1.6	+0.3
Total	2.7	3.4	+0.7	2.0	1.1	+0.1

1 Assigning not only ranks but quantitative values on the scale of vertical hierarchy to multidimensional taxons including kindred groups of jobs is a relative enough procedure. Thus, groups II, III and IV seem to differ between themselves far less than groups IV and V, V and VI, VI and VII. Therefore, the procedure used by us is the first, crudest approximation to the reality under study. In the future the structure of public sector jobs, viewed from work content and required skills, must become a study concern of its own.

Changes in work status of different generations of men and women goes on in a different way. These differences are usually interpreted as "intergenerational mobility". It is easy to see that essential advancement of workers in young ages in comparison to older ages is due to the fact that each new generation starts its work history from a higher point on the scale. While among workers of middle ages the working status began from a level of 2.5 (men) and 2.2 (women), among workers of young ages from 3.2 (men) and 3.0 (women). In particular, not a small percentage of young workers begin their work life on jobs of equipment operators and specialists.

This fact reflects changes which occurred in the rural side during the lifetime of the generations compared: sharp increase of secondary school graduates, growth in the number of workers with special training. In spite of this, men's advancement is higher than women's. The latter raised their work status not much. While rise in the rank of job held during the working history by young males is 0.6 score, by males in middle ages 1 score, among women of these generations there are practically no changes. This fact reflects, on the one hand, the peculiarity of social-production status of the woman who has had much higher loading in the sphere of household duties and on private plots than the man. On the other hand, it reflects the peculiarities of rural productive branch structure where insufficient development of nonproductive sphere impedes the utilization of women's labour.

3. Degree of Mobility of Men and Women in the Countryside

The degree of mobility of workers can be measured by number of jobs held during their work history. This index can be interpreted in two ways: first, as a characteristic of workers' enterprise (branch)-wide movement, as a characteristic of that part of life style which is implemen-

ted in the occupational sphere. Within the former approach mobility degree is usually related to the system of jobs on an enterprise (industry). For example, during conversion of an enterprise to new technology or during changes in industrial structure of production high labour mobility is necessary, whereas under different conditions it may be excessive. Within the latter approach, mobility degree is evaluated in terms of worker's life style which presupposes the answer to the question what effect it exercises on his household activity, leisure, general development.

In view of the foregoing, we shall consider mobility degree of rural workers. The first step will be finding out their distribution by number of jobs held. Women are less mobile than men. On the average the number of jobs held by women is 2.6 and by men 2.9. The number of jobs held by men depends on work experience: young men managed to hold three fifths as many jobs as the older ones, whereas for women there is no such a relationship; all generations of women held about the same number of jobs. Since work experience, however, among different generations is different, it is clear that young women during a shorter period of time managed to hold such a number of jobs which women of middle and old ages held during about the whole life. Hence, among women the most mobile generation are young women. The same is true of men: young men are most mobile; during 1-10 years of gainful activity they held on the average 2.6 jobs, whereas men in middle ages 3.3 jobs during 10-30 years, i.e. approximately a half.

Comparing to young men, young women are marked by higher "polarization". On the one hand, among them the share of the stable who held during the work history only 1-2 jobs is higher (73% against 64%). On the other, among women the share of least stable workers who held 6 and over jobs is far higher (11% against 1%). We think that this fact is due to involuntary breaks in employment because of giving birth to and suckling of children, since after such intervals many women cannot return to their former jobs and enter new ones.

The obtained results allow us to compare the mobility degree (number of jobs held) and the dynamics of work experience. Among women job shifts are associated with getting ahead far less than among men. While for men shifts of 2.9 jobs causes rise in status ranging from 2.7 to 3.4 ranks on the average, among women shifts of 2.6 jobs is not practically accompanied by a change in the average rank of occupied jobs (2.0 - 2.1). And among all generations the picture remains the same: 2.6 jobs held are accompanied for young men by rise in status ranging from 3.2 to 3.8 ranks, and the same number of jobs held by women does not practically change the index of their final work status. This permits us to make a conclusion that with a higher degree of horizontal mobility rural women are characterized by substantially lower degree of advancement than rural men, and possibly also than urban women. In spite of considerable levelling off between educational attainments of rural men and women, achieved of late, "working potential" of rural women is used insufficiently.

4. Job Careers among Rural Women

In the foregoing section the upward movement was considered against the background of others, i.e. it was compared with downward, horizontal movement and with the mobility degree of workers. Here, however, we shall consider only one type of movement, i.e. upward job career which is a special case of vertical mobility. According to this, the worker's movement is his advancement toward higher positions in the system of public division of labour (Zaslavskaia, ed., 1970:239). Job career and job mobility take place in the same space of jobs. But it is necessary to recognize those restraints which were introduced by us when discussing job mobility. Defining it as movements among jobs in public production, we thereby excluded from the analysis those workers who have not yet moved among jobs but who nevertheless occupy already high status jobs. On the one hand ,

these people are not mobile in the foregoing meaning. On the other,due to their educational attainments, they already at the "entrance" to public production, occupy relatively high rank jobs. According to this, if we compare "final points", i.e. those jobs which are occupied by different categories of workers after certain periods of time, this group of workers proves to be similar to those who obtained high rank jobs after more or less numerous movements between jobs.

The presence of this group of workers and its numerousness compel us to take it into consideration in the definition of upward job career by which meant will be workers' movement from lower to higher positions both within public production and between the latter and other spheres of public life, serving sources for labour formation. According to this, under the workers with upward job career we shall subsume those who changed a job of a lower rank to the one of a higher rank, as well as those whose initial job was of a sufficiently high rank. For this reason, the work history will be termed an upward job career if it is characterized either by upward mobility, or by a high rank of job.

What jobs will be taken as "high"? Since occupying a job of a high enough rank is determined by getting special training, "high" (in comparison to others) will be jobs of 5-8 ranks (equipment operators and specialists). This permits one to take into account both channels (ways of implementation) of upward job career: 1) through getting educational training and occupying a high "starting point" and 2) achieving it through advancement in the course of life history. We subsumed 5-8 levels under a high rank because of specific hierarchy of farm jobs where jobs of operators (in terms of prestige, pay and skills) are of a high rank.

Proceeding upon this understanding, of 605 work histories we have selected 242 "upward job careers" (147 of men and 97 of women) identifying in them: 1) "stable career", ie workers who entered high rank jobs at the first step of

work history and who did not make further shifts in the system of public production and 2) "mobile career", i.e. workers who entered high rank jobs on the basis of more or less long movements in the system of public production.

The number of persons with upward careers make 40% in the total cases of the second sample. Women with upward careers are half as many as men (30% against 57%). Upward mobile are mainly persons in working ages, i.e. who have not yet completed their work history. Unlike them, 67% of men and 87% of women did not make upward career.

It is very important to answer the question about the relationship between the two types of job careers since through these indexes the place of special training in the life style of rural population is revealed. On the whole, for rural population mobile career seems more typical than stable. In other words, it is more typical to acquire higher rank jobs as a result of several job shifts: out of total number of upward workers, three fourths made it in this very manner. To interpret this fact, it is important to relate mobility types to the kind of educational attainments of moving workers and to their work experience. It is obvious, that the deficit of vocationally trained workers in the rural side leads to that high work experience becomes a sufficient reason for promotion to higher rank jobs.

What type of career is typical of men and women? Differences between stable and mobile careers among them are small, and in young ages they are practically absent. At the same time the percentage of women with stable career is three fifths as high as of men. This is accounted for by, first, a lower educational level among women, and, second, by absence or short supply in the countryside of jobs which would be held by women if they had higher educational level. For men, reversely, more ordinary is stable job career: they more often begin their career on jobs of a relatively high rank, and then do not change them.

An important index at the study of job careers may serve its duration. In principle, this category can be understood

in two ways. First, as the number of hierarchical jobs (steps) actually held by a worker in the course of his working career; and, second, as the number of steps in a certain hierarchy which the worker has overcome during his working career, whether he held them actually or not. Thus, for example, if a worker shifted from labourer's job to that of an equipment operator between which there are four hierarchical steps, the total length of his working career is equal to four steps. Here we use the second concept.

Our study has shown that among women more typical is mobile career, but its length on the average is less and makes 2 steps against 3 among men.

The career of most women (78%) consists of only one or two steps. The percentage of careers of such a length among men is 53%. In other words, of women more typical are "shorter" careers. "Long" careers consisting of six or seven steps are found among women one third as often as among men. The percentage of men whose career includes four hierarchical steps is also high.

Of men most typical are, first, mobile career "labourer - equipment operator" (27.4%), second, stable career of equipment operators (28.4%): over a half men either immediately become equipment operators, or achieve this status after several steps. Of women typical are mobile careers "labourer (cow woman) - milkmaid" (45%) and "labourer (cow woman) - a worker in the sphere of services" (14%).

5. A Tendency in Changes of the Working Status of Rural Women During the 1967-1972 Period

In order to get a picture of job mobility changes over a number of years one can use data on changes in the occupational composition of rural workers (men and women), in their attainments in vocational training. It is obvious that the latter give a picture of division of labour in contrast to mobility which is its dynamics (within the workers life history). The known ties, however, between

"structure" and "process" make it possible, having structural data, to judge about the nature of the process. The examined features of rural population mobility are dynamic expressions of its occupational composition, in particular, of the high percentage of the employed in farm occupations (in comparison with occupations of other productive branches), as well as employed in material production (in comparison to branches of nonproductive sphere). The shifts in branch kinds of occupations of workers imply certain changes in the nature of their job mobility.

Therefore, the changes in rural public production forecast for the long run will lead to changes in workers' occupational composition and in the nature of their job shifts. In particular, out to 1990 projected are changes in the percentage of women employed in farming with their concurrent increase in manufacturing and services. As a result, the gap between the branch structure of jobs and occupational omposition of rural and urban women will be substantially reduced. During the period between the two surveys (1967 and 1972) certain changes in this direction took place. In particular, the percentage of women employed on unskilled jobs has diminished and the percentage of women employed in services has grown up, as well as the number of women specialists. At the same time, the decline of unskilled jobs was going on more intensively among men than among women.

While shifts in nature of work of rural women are retarded by the specifics of family status, higher loading in household activity and on private plots, as well as insufficient number of jobs suitable for women, in the field of educational attainments where these restraints are fewer women substantially leave men behind. The specifics of rural jobs are such that they, on the one hand, impede women's involvement, and on the other motivate them to getting special (high and higher) training. As a result, the educational level of women is higher. Though the percentage of women not vocationally trained is higher

than that of men, educational attainments of women against men are higher (2 years against 1.5 years). And, by educational attainments women are more polarized than men: there are more vocationally not trained and more secondary and higher education graduates.

During 1967-1972 perceptible changes occurred in the working status of rural women, but the average index of women's working status in 1972 also remains lower than of men (see Table 3).

Table 3

Average index of the working status of rural dwellers in 1972 (in scores)

A g e	Men	Women	Women in % to men
16-29 years old	3.5	3.1	88
30-54(59)	3.4	2.4	70
55(60) and older	2.8	1.7	70
Total	3.4	2.6	76

This fact has been validated by studies made in manufacturing too (Kalmyk, 1969). But young women have so much "succeeded" that they have a status very similar to that of men. Comparing to them the status of women of middle and older generations differs from the status of men of the same age much stronger. Apart from that, the rates of changes in the working status level for women of different generations is considerably higher than for men (the difference between "starting" and "final" points). Such shifts are called in sociological studies "intergenerational" mobility. In fact, however, documented are changes in historical conditions instead of people's shifts. For this reason, the substantial rise in the index of the working status of rural women can be held as an index of sharp changes occurred in the countryside over the period of life time of the generations compared.

Conclusions

1. Job mobility and job career have been examined qualitatively and quantitatively. Quantitative aspect is the degree of mobility of workers, the number of jobs held in the course of work history, the length of job career; qualitative aspect are types of job mobility, differing by presence or absence of the vertical component (horizontal and vertical job mobility), and in the latter case by direction (downward and upward mobility, upward job career).

2. Differences in the degree of mobility of men and women are substantial: on the whole women are less mobile than men; workers of young ages are much more mobile than aged.

3. Among all groups of population vertical mobility prevailed over horizontal: the percentage of advanced workers was twice as high as downward mobile. The differences between men and women are essential here too: the percentage upward mobile women is three fifths that of men. Substantial are also differences in the dynamics of working status among men and women and among generations: the starting point of work histories of young generations are considerably higher than of the old.

4. The number of women with upward job career is half that of men, and women less than men exercise "stable career" presupposing getting special education and entering a high rank job at the starting point of work history. Work career of women is on the average shorter than of men.

5. The found out patterns should become an object of further study which it is expedient to conduct in two directions. First, it is necessary to expand the circle of phenomena studied in order to find out causes underlying the detected relationships. It seems that most important of them are, on the one hand, a system of jobs rendered to rural workers and, in particular, to rural women, and on the other sociodemographic characteristics of the workers

themselves, above all, their educational attainments and work experience. Second, it is necessary to find out ties between job mobility and other elements of life style of rural population on the whole and of rural women in particular: their domestic activity, leisure, public activity, problems associated with children, spatial mobility.

6. To solve all these tasks it is necessary to work out procedures in the study of job mobility and job career. At present methodological issues have been discussed in this country only in a disjointed manner. A regular exposition of theoretical methodological issues is contained only in Kalmyk, 1974. The lack of sophistication in procedures in this field imposes constraints on the studies and excludes obtaining comparable data (for example, of job careers of urban and rural women).

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